

BLACK FLAG



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Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross



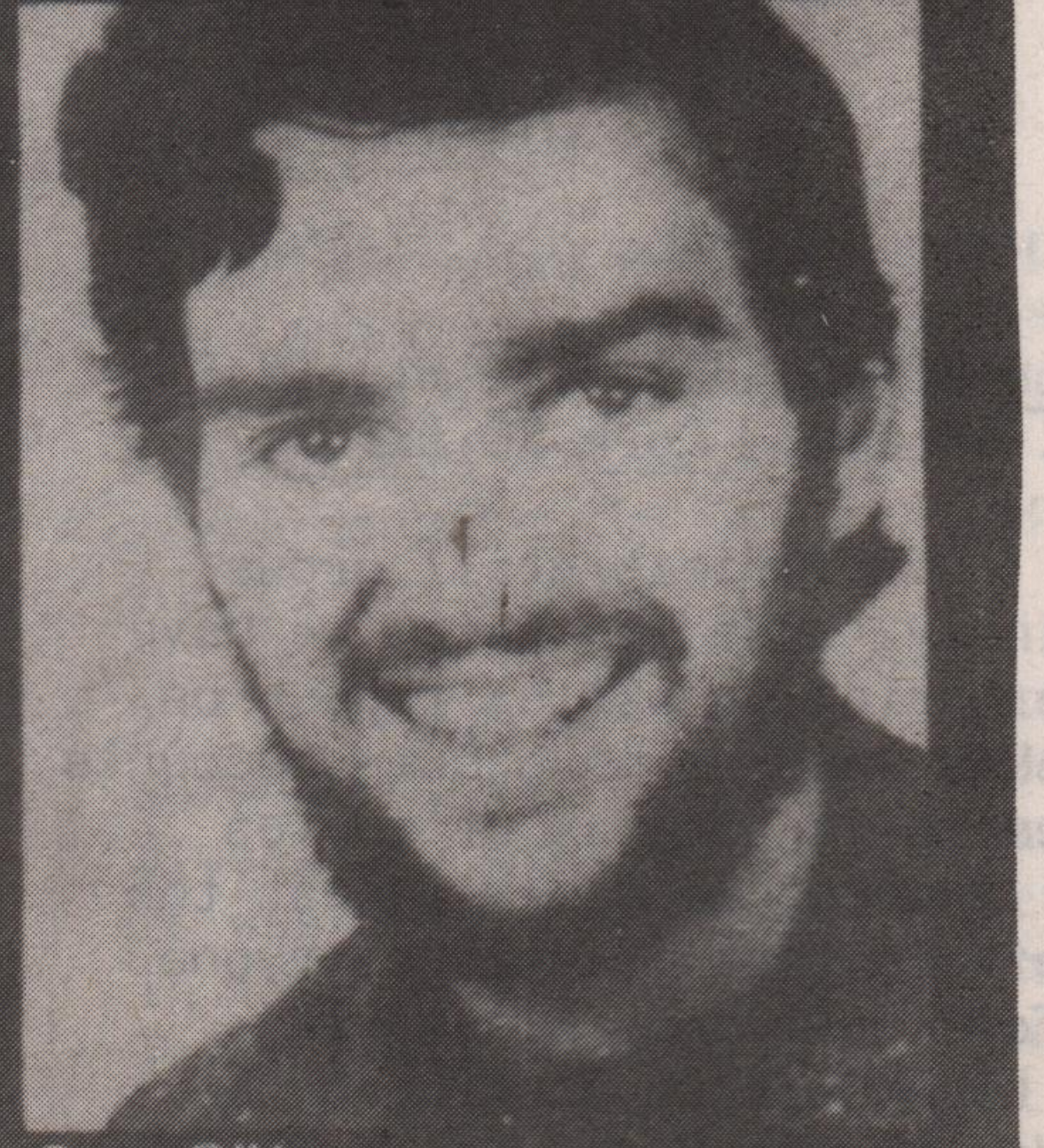
Bobby Sands



Francis Hughes



Raymond McCreesh



Patsy O'Hara

ON TUESDAY 5TH MAY BOBBY SANDS DIED IN LONG KESH. WITHIN A FEW WEEKS THREE OTHER HUNGER STRIKERS ALSO DIED: FRANCIS HUGHES, RAYMOND MCCREESH AND PATSY O'HARA. THEIR DEATHS, PARADOXICALLY, TOGETHER COMPRISED THE GREATEST VICTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT TO DATE. BY THEIR SACRIFICE THEY HAVE TRANSFORMED THE SITUATION IN IRELAND AND HAVE SUCCEEDED IN FOCUSING ATTENTION NOT SIMPLY ON THEIR OWN STATUS AS PRISONERS BUT ON THE STATUS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN IRELAND.

The original aim of the hungerstrike was to gain political status [something which republican and loyalist prisoners had between 1972 and 1976]. It sprang from the 'blanket' and 'no-wash' protests which had continued for four years but it could never be separated from the wider issues concerning the presence of British troops in the North and the political future of the country. It is significant that the "Five Demands" of the prisoners have noticeably slipped into the background as the hungerstrike gathered momentum.

The election of Bobby Sands as a member of parliament was an outstanding propaganda coup. At a stroke it dispelled the fiction that successive governments have maintained for over a decade - that the IRA is an isolated minority grouping which is able to exist only by intimidating the republican community. As Bobby Sand's electoral agent pointed out, the hunger striker

FOUR DIE IN PROTEST

THERE EXISTS IN IRELAND A COMMUNITY WHICH VIEWS THE BRITISH STATE AS ALIEN AND REPRESSIVE. NEITHER THE HUNGER STRIKE NOR THE MASSIVE WAVE OF PROTEST FOLLOWING THE DEATHS OF THE HUNGER STRIKERS HAS CONVINCED THE GOVERNMENT THAT THIS IS THE CASE. IT CONTINUES ITS REPRESSIVE POLICY.

polled more votes than Thatcher did in her constituency. The electoral victory of Fermanagh/South Tyrone was followed by the election of Paddy Agnew and Kieran Docherty to Dail Eireann (the Irish Republic's parliament), something which sent the media hacks scurrying to discover "emotional" reasons for something they predicted would never happen.

The embarrassment of Sands' electoral victory has prompted the government to introduce an amendment to the "Representation of the People Act" which will make it impossible for prisoners to stand for parliament. Democracy is only permissible when approved candidates are returned.

Further evidence of widespread antipathy to the state's forces in Ireland came with the nightly rioting in Belfast, Derry and other towns during May and much of June. More than three hundred petrol bombs were thrown within a

couple of hours of the death of Francis Hughes alone. In response, the army and police have killed a number of unarmed people, including children.

In addition to the rioting there has been a fierce escalation in the number of attacks by INLA and the IRA on military targets. Several policemen have been killed, including one who was killed when an RPG-7 rocket was fired at a police landrover. Four other RUC men were injured in the same attack. There were mortar attacks on military posts in Newry and Newtonhamilton and other soldiers have died during shooting incidents.

This demonstration of the existence of a community which views the British state as alien and repressive, and of an organisation which is capable of inflicting military losses has apparently done nothing to alter government policy on Ireland. Repression is still the order of the day.

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AT LONG LAST BLACK FLAG HAS BEEN FORCED TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE LAWS OF CAPITALIST ECONOMICS, SPECIFICALLY THOSE CONCERNING DEBT, ie IF WE DON'T START PAYING SOME OF OUR DEBTS OFF WE FACE THE POSSIBILITY OF WRITING BLACK FLAG OFF AS A TAX LOSS. THEREFORE WE ARE OBLIGED TO INCREASE THE PRICE OF THE PAPER TO 30P, STILL MUCH LESS THAN THE PRICE OF A PINT AND MUCH MORE ENTERTAINING.

BLACK FLAG



Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross

STATE OF PLAY ON 12TH MAY 1981.

Printing bills (paid to date) 147.00
Postage 146.80
Stationery 8.45
302.25

Sales & subscriptions 129.45
Donations* 44.00
173.45

Loss 128.80
Deficit c/f 3399.91

TOTAL: -3528.71

*London JT £5, JG £1 AF £1, IM £1, RB £1, EM £10. Cork RC £25.

NOTE: Our deficit still grows alarmingly, added to which we have further printing bills; though on the other hand we have some accounts to receive in the way of copies sold. Indeed, we sadly repeat the old refrain that if only everyone paid for their copy Black Flag would be showing a profit and be subsidising the Black Cross which is now down to its minimum aid to our prisoners (for want of funds) since its inception, with the bulletin coming out every other month instead of monthly.

Black Flag is so well worth its price that, notwithstanding our grossly lax collecting system, we think we ought to get payment of subs and parcel settlements.

THERE IS A NEW GROUP OF ANARCHISTS IN WALES HOLDING REGULAR MEETINGS. CONTACT THEM AT BLACK DRAGON, BOX NO 5, c/o NEGES BOOKSHOP, 31 ALEXANDRA ROAD, SWANSEA SA1 5DQ WEST GLAMORGANSHIRE.

FROM THE FRONT LINE: Railton Road (in Brixton) is an open wound which even the sunshine could not hide, all boarded up, squat, and the George pub - the first place ever to be done by the Racial Discrimination Act back in 1964 - absolutely charred, a ruin - only the Chinese takeaway, the anarchist bookshop and a few black businesses were left untouched. STANLEY REYNOLDS in THE GUARDIAN.

Still going strong - the ANARCHIST BOOKSHOP at 121 Railton Rd, London SE24 (nearest tube: Brixton). Open Thurs & Fri 2 - 6 and Saturday 12 - 6. Meetings Saturday 3pm.

DON'T CRY AMIGO, You CAN GET A COPY OF THE NEXT ISSUE IF YOU SUBSCRIBE



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HOME: £5.60 PER 12 ISSUES.

CANADA USA AUSTRALIA
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\$19 (AIRMAIL)
\$10.50

ANARCHIST CENTRE

After months of searching, premises have finally been found for the Anarchist Centre. These are at: 1st Floor, O&N Warehouse, Wapping Wall, London E1.

At the moment the premises are being fitted out and decorated. The organisers hope to have the Centre open by July. All those who can help with the building work are urged to contact the Centre through Freedom Press, Angel Alley, Whitechapel High St, London E1.

As soon as the Centre is habitable a meeting of the membership will be held to discuss the future of the Centre.

There is still time to become a life member - for £15. Annual membership is £7 and £5 for the unwaged. Cheques payable to: "William Godwin Memorial Society" send c/o Freedom Press.



Massana with two children rescued from Franco's Spain (1946).

ARLENE MEYERS, A FOUNDER OF SIREN, AN ANARCHIST-FEMINIST PUBLICATION FROM CHICAGO IN THE EARLY 1970s, DIED 12TH FEBRUARY 81, APPARENTLY OF A HEART ATTACK. ARLENE MADE SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANARCHIST-FEMINIST THEORY AND MAINTAINED A CORRESPONDENCE WITH ANARCHISTS AND FEMINISTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

HER LETTERS AND HER COLLECTION OF RADICAL PERIODICALS HAVE BEEN ENTRUSTED TO THE CARE OF THE WOMENS COLLECTION OF NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY, EVANSTON, ILLINOIS. FRIENDS WISHING TO ADD TO THIS COLLECTION OR TO MAKE A DONATION TO THE ARLENE MYERS MEMORIAL FUND ARE INVITED TO WRITE TO: FRANCES CHAPMAN, 836 W. NEWPORT AVE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60657.



STOP PRESS

NOTE: THE PHONE NUMBER FOR THE NEW AUTONOMY CENTRE is: 01 481 3537

MASSANA OF THE MOUNTAINS.

In the heart of the Pyrenees, on the French side, Marcelino Massana ("Pancho" of the Resistance) died in May. "Pancho" was described by the press as "the last Catalan guerillero" - which wasn't quite accurate - but he was one of those legendary mountain fighters like "Caraquemada", Facerias and Sabate.

The Anarchists who formed the resistance against Franco that fought on after the civil war had ended, have a place in history, deliberately obscured by historians and journalists.

Massana went back to Spain a few years ago for the publication of his biography ("Massana: Terrorism or resistance?"). [The biography of Sabate by Tellez was published in England by Cienfuegos Press - that of Facerias is to follow.]

He was not one of those who had any faith in the Allies whom so many believed would intervene during or after the world war. He knew that the only liberation from Franco would come from resistance. Asked what he thought about the post-Franco "democracy", a few months before his death, he said that a "real democracy cannot be presented from above, because what is given can be taken away."

ANARCHO-QUIZ.

- 1) What major action in the early part of the last World War was (perhaps in default of anything positive at the time) regarded by many anarchist propagandists as an example of anarchy in action?
- 2) The Industrial Workers of the World is often referred to in the press as the "independent Workers of the World". By which authority is this the proper style?
- 3) Simone Weil (1909-1943) was a French Jewish writer who became a distinguished Christian mystic, though she declined to be baptised, and finally starved herself to death while regarding herself as a Catholic. What other seeming contradiction was there in her life?
- 4) What distinguished the Woolwich Working Men's Socialist Club (London) (1900-17) from most socialist and radical clubs of the period?
- 5) Which Nazi general made a passionate appeal to the Polish Jews to support the German war effort to avenge the anti-semitic atrocities of Russia?
- 6) Two Polish Jewish socialist leaders (Ehrlich and Alter) made a passionate appeal to the Polish Jews to support the Russian war effort to avenge the anti-semitic atrocities of Germany - what happened to them?



BRENDA EARL RELEASED

ON 19TH MAY THIS YEAR BRENDA EARL, A 30 YEAR OLD LIBERTARIAN PUBLISHER, AND HER 2 YEAR OLD DAUGHTER, BRANWEN CHRISTIE, WERE DETAINED AT HANOVER AIRPORT AS THEY WERE LEAVING TO RETURN HOME TO SCOTLAND, AFTER A 3 WEEK HOLIDAY WITH RELATIVES. BOTH MOTHER AND DAUGHTER WERE HELD BY THE FEDERAL BORDER POLICE WHEN THE CENTRAL POLICE COMPUTER IN WIESBADEN INDICATED THAT BRENDA WAS WANTED ON AN ARREST WARRANT ISSUED AGAINST HER 11 YEARS PREVIOUSLY IN FRANKFURT. THIS WAS THE FIRST INDICATION THAT SUCH A WARRANT EXISTED.

THE CHARGE SHE FACED WAS THAT IN 28TH APRIL 1970 SOMEONE USING THE NAME EARL BOUGHT A TICKET IN COLOGNE FOR AN IBERIA AIRWAYS FLIGHT FROM FRANKFURT TO BARCELONA. THIS TICKET, IN THE NAME OF A SPANIARD CALLED SANTOS, WAS USED TO CHECK IN A PIECE OF LUGGAGE ON THE FLIGHT 12 DAYS LATER, ON 10TH MAY. THIS PIECE OF LUGGAGE CONTAINED AN INCENDIARY DEVICE. SHORTLY AFTER THE LUGGAGE WAS CHECKED IN, A WARNING TELEPHONE CALL WAS MADE TO THE AIRPORT AUTHORITIES, THE BAG WAS IDENTIFIED AND REMOVED. SIMILAR EVENTS OCCURED AT APPROXIMATELY THE SAME TIME AT OTHER MAJOR EUROPEAN AIRPORTS, INCLUDING GENEVA, BRUSSELS AND HEATHROW(LONDON). NONE OF THE DEVICES WERE ON THE PLANES WHEN THEY WENT OFF, AS WARNING TELEPHONE CALLS HAD BEEN MADE IN GOOD TIME TO ALL THE AIRPORT AUTHORITIES CONCERNED.

The responsibility for the attacks was claimed by the Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth (FIJL) as part of an international campaign against Spanish tourism and the execution and torture of Spanish anti-fascists. This organisation had been carrying out anti-Francoist activities in and outside Spain since the end of WW2 and none of these propagandist activities involved injury or loss of life to anyone.

Brenda Earl was thoroughly investigated by Scotland Yard's Special Branch and the Airport police at Heathrow for alleged involvement in this same series of incidents within a few days of the event occurring, in May 1970. Shortly after the incidents the home of Brenda Earl and Stuart Christie was raided one morning at 6am after Stuart had left for work. Brenda was questioned intensively by the police who tried to pressurise her into making a confession, and put her on an identity parade, which turned out to be negative. As there was nothing to link her or Stuart with any of the incidents, she was released.

Later in 1970 both Stuart and Brenda were questioned on many other occasions by Special Branch about these and other anti-Francoist activities throughout Europe and these interviews and depositions are a matter of record. The only reference the police made at the time to the name "Earl" was on 5th October 1970, when D.I. David Palmer Hall asked Stuart if he used the name Earl when booking journeys abroad, to which Stuart replied that he did not. Brenda was not asked the question, nor was she questioned about any visit to Germany.

A year and a half later Stuart Christie was arrested and charged with "Conspiracy to Cause Explosions" - the case was to become known as the ANGRY BRIGADE TRIAL and was one of the longest in British judicial history. Included in this conspiracy charge was the incident at Frankfurt airport (and the other related incidents). At no time was Brenda charged, nor did any evidence emerge during the course of the trial to link her in any way with the activities of the ANGRY BRIGADE or the FIJL.

We believe the reasons for the arrest of Brenda in Hanover on 19th May 81 was due:

- a) to the fact that her name had never been removed from the Central Police Computer
- b) the embarrassment of the German security forces following the recent disclosures that the Grey Wolves and other fascist paramilitary terrorist groups are operating freely in West Germany.

Forced to act against 'enemies of the state' they moved against anti-fascists and socialists such as Brenda. When arrested the police threatened her with a stay in prison for anything up to 9 months until the case was heard, even if they could not sustain the charge against her.

After comrades had been contacted by Stuart immediately he heard the news of Brenda's arrest, the German prosecutor was inundated by telegrams and letters of protest from all over the world. There were demonstrations on her behalf in England, France, New Zealand and elsewhere and others were being organised. In the face of this barrage of protest the German prosecutor was forced into action. Brenda was placed on an identity parade, which



Brenda and daughter Branwen.

turned out to be negative. As a result of this she was released immediately on Wednesday 27th May. The next day she left Germany to fly home to Scotland and arrived home safely on the Saturday to be reunited with her family.

The Arrest Warrant stated that: "There is strong evidence to support the charge that, the accused was knowingly implicated in advising and assisting the preparation of a bomb explosion".

More startlingly it went on to say: "The accused is further implicated in that she is known to co-habit with the English anarchist James Stuart Christie". And further: "The accused is a member of a criminal organisation of anarchists".

Brenda and Stuart would like to thank all their friends and comrades for all their help and support. Help is still needed however to assist in paying the legal fees etc - please send donations to: Box Lidice, Over the Water, Sanday, Orkney Islands, Scotland.



BRIXTON

The Scarman inquiry opened early in June to investigate the causes for the Brixton riot. Evidence from the police as well as Brixton residents has been heard with predictable discrepancies. The police deny that there was any harassment of blacks in the area; residents have complained of frequent stoppings and searches by aggressive policemen. One freelance journalist described how she saw police attack a motor cyclist who had been taking pictures of plain clothes police during the riot. The police, she said, knocked the photographer off his bike, smashed his camera and punched and kicked him. The man in question has bought a private prosecution against the police.



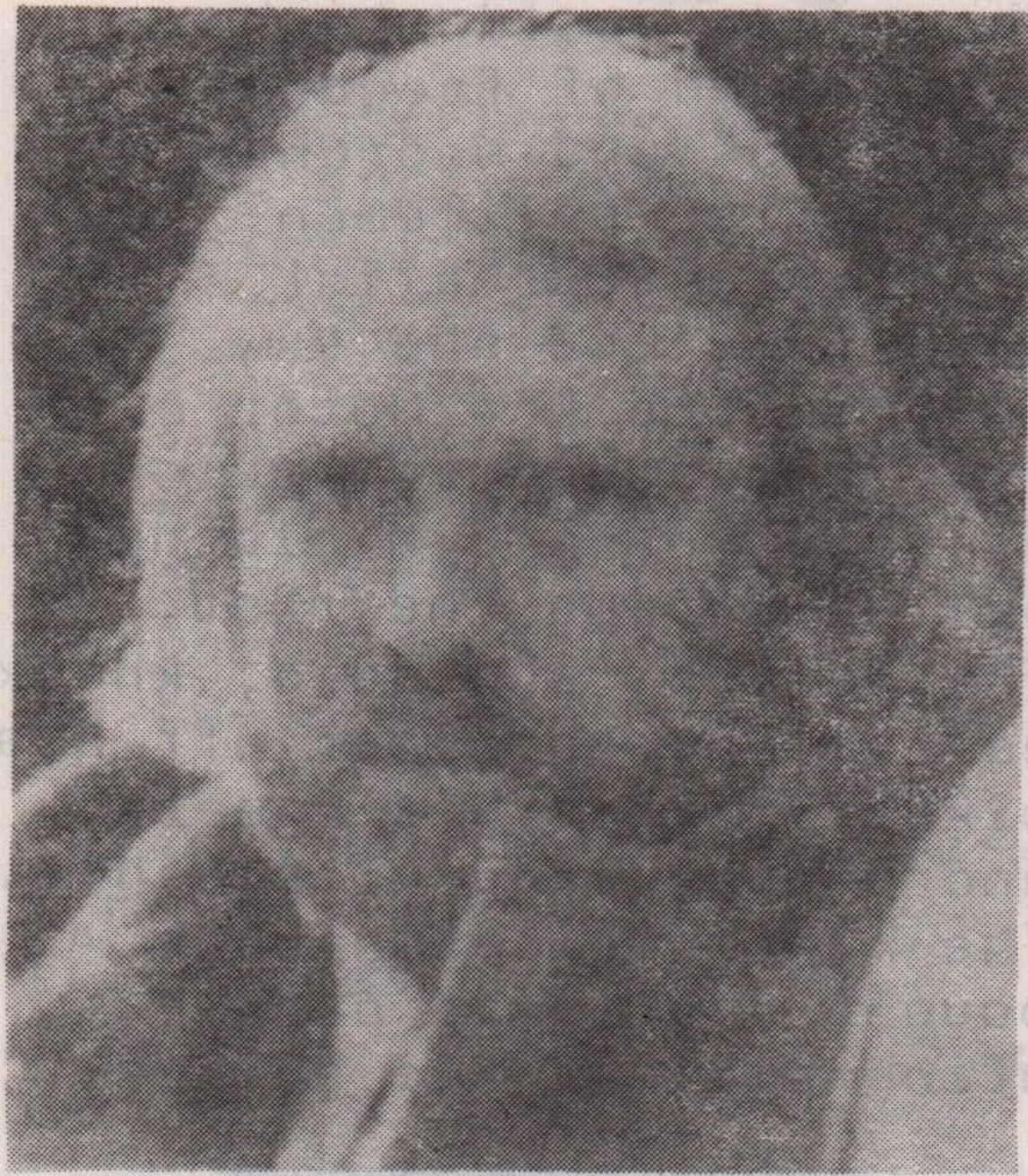
Community Policing in Brixton (a plainclothes cop on patrol)

The inquiry is clearly intended to defuse the situation in Brixton and to try to end the polarisation of feeling among the community and the police. If Scarman's "previous" is anything to go by, the report, which is expected in October, will exonerate the police. His inquiries into outbreaks of violence in Northern Ireland and in Red Lion Square have deservedly been popularly described as whitewashes.

.....Meanwhile, the case of the anarchists arrested in Brixton drags on. The attempt by the media, inspired by David McNee, to blame the spontaneous eruption of rioting on "outside agitators" fell flat when the only evidence called in support of this view was the much publicised arrest of 2 anarchists, on charges of possession of stolen goods. Jean Weir, one of those arrested earlier, on a charge of possession of an offensive weapon, was described by the police in charge of the case, as a member of the Red Brigades at her last court appearance. The magistrate clearly unimpressed, granted bail. No evidence was produced to support the allegation.

PRISON MURDER: THREE BAILED.

BARRY PROSSER (31) DIED IN A STRIP CELL, IN THE HOSPITAL WING AT WINSON GREEN PRISON, BIRMINGHAM, ON 19TH AUGUST 1980. HE WAS BEING HELD ON REMAND, IN CUSTODY FOR MEDICAL REPORTS. HIS CHARGE - "CRIMINAL DAMAGE" TO A DOOR HANDLE!



**inquest
verdict:
unlawful
killing.**

right: BARRY
PROSSER

and left: Melvyn
Jackson, one of
his murderers.



Barry Prosser was beaten and kicked to death by 12 screws, led by senior hospital screw Melvyn Jackson during the administration of a tranquillising injection. Medical experts at the inquest testified that Barry Prosser's body was covered from head to foot in bruises, and that death was due to a blow to the stomach, probably caused by someone dropping onto him with their knees as he lay naked on a mattress, which caused his stomach and oesophagus to burst. They all agreed that the injuries could not be self-inflicted.

5) No one at the prison seemed to know about the injuries until the autopsy.

The evidence clearly shows that SHO MELVYN JACKSON led screws ERIC SMITH, HOWARD PRICE, THOMAS BARI, DAVID PINHEY, MALCOLM WATKINS and 3 others in a deadly attack on Prosser. But the case was DISMISSED! by a Birmingham Stipendiary Magistrate who ruled there was insufficient evidence for the case to go to trial.

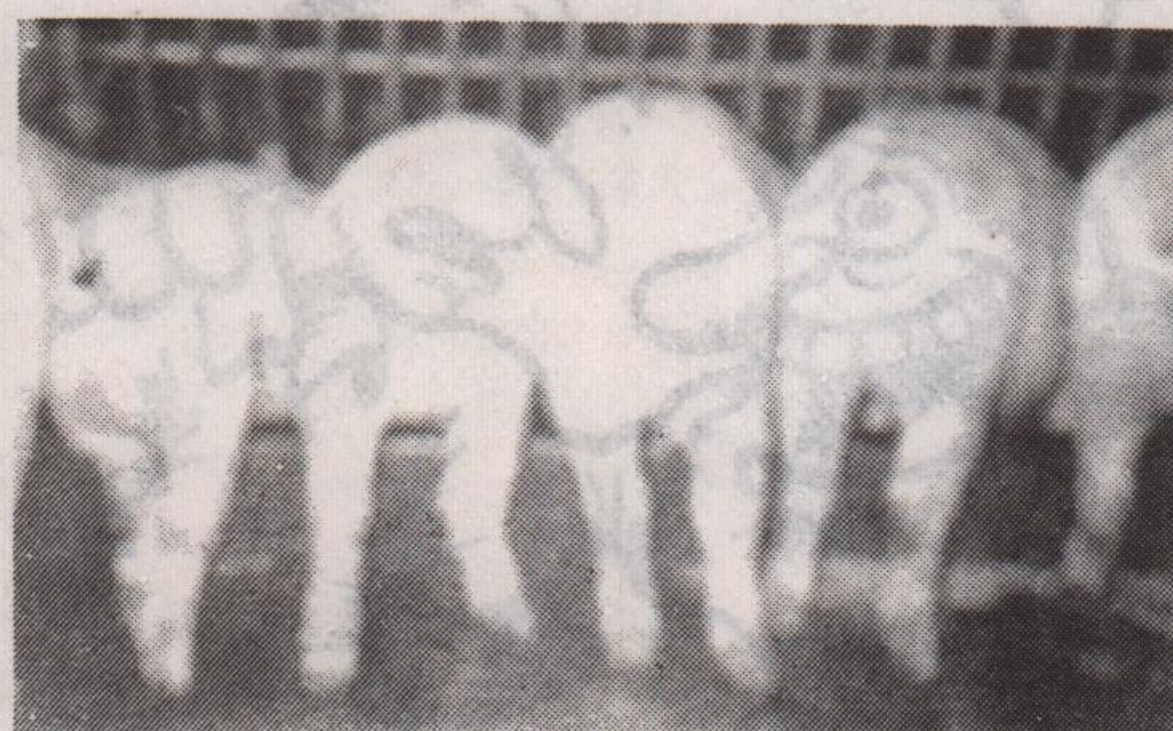


Winson Green prison officers Howard Price (left) and Eric Smith arriving for the inquest hearing in Birmingham

On 15th April 81 the coroner's jury returned a verdict of "UNLAWFUL KILLING". City Coroner, Dr Richard Smith, said that there were 5 unanswered questions:

- 1) No record of force being used in the hospital occurrence book.
- 2) No initials of prison officials had been recorded in the remand wing occurrence book and there was nothing to indicate that anything unusual had happened.
- 3) Hospital officers ERIC SMITH & HOWARD PRICE had apparently soiled their clothes.
- 4) PRICE had a fresh injury on his neck when he had apparently only given an injection to an unrestrained prisoner.

NOTE: Since the article was written Melvyn Jackson and others have been re-charged with Prosser's murder and released on bail.



LIBERTARIAN HISTORIES

The anarchist "mole" who went into the National Front recently had a precedent in the French movement. In 1922 a young anarchist, Germaine Berton, knocked at the door of Charles Maurras, one of the directors of the Action Francaise - the extreme royalist and later fascist journal. She told the man at the desk that she wanted to reveal "the secrets" of the anarchist movement which, she said, was planning to assassinate leading members of the party, beginning with Alphonse Daudet. She asked if he were still living at 31 rue de Bellechasse. This was in fact Daudet's mothers house; it had never been disclosed that Daudet lived there. It was merely a guess on her part. The man agreed he was and she went round to see him with an automatic pistol in her handbag.

She was not admitted however, so she left a note stressing the urgency of what she had to tell. Daudet, suspicious, communicated with the police but meanwhile Germaine Berton called back at the Action Francaise with a message for Maurras "from Daudet". She was interviewed instead by organiser Marius Plateau, who laughed at the "information" she had to give him. He told her he knew all the tricks of the anarchists, revealed information he had from the police and explained how Action Francaise relied on co-operation with high-ranking police and military intelligence. No doubt he was doing this to depreciate the value of any information she had, thinking, perhaps, she was selling it. But Germaine realised the importance of the man she was seeing, which was greater than that of Maurras or Daudet; here was the man who represented French reaction at its most efficient. She shot him dead.

She then tried to shoot herself but was only wounded. She told the police "I had no accomplices. I wanted to avenge the deaths of Jaures and d'Almeyreda for which Daudet is responsible". Jaures (socialist leader) and d'Almeyreda (anarchist) had both been victims of Action Francaise. Jaures was killed at the outbreak of war because he had the confidence of the majority of workers and the right wing feared he might be anti-war.

In her defence the famous civil rights lawyer Maitre Torres said this was a "symbolic crime". It was meant to avenge Jaures and the acts of violence of the "Camelots du Roi" (a French fascist group). This was hardly a plea with any force in law but the jury sympathised with Germaine and understanding the menace of fascism, acquitted.

This was not the only political acquittal; French juries of the 20s were often representative of public opinion. Only later, in our day, was the position of the Anarchist caricatured and that of the Fascist mass murderers glorified, in the press. We salute our comrade Germaine Breton, Anarchist and Anti-Fascist.

Roon an About

In an extraordinary article in the Daily Mail (15th April) a second-rate journalist, Tim Miles, makes a series of vituperative remarks against Jean Weir, though without naming her. She was in a "Brixton flat occupied by anarchists" - they were living there when police raided the premises after the riots. "Political documents and other material were taken away from the flat for examination". (For the record, this is supposed to be a free country, and political documents are not necessarily criminal.)

Jean Weir is described as "a committed anarchist, a white woman, with a long history of alleged participation in crimes carried out in Europe for revolutionary ideals". WE are puzzled as to how one can have a "history" of "alleged participation"; she was arrested in France and Italy true, but released.

But here Tim Miles shows himself in unblushing colours as of clearly identifiable sympathies. "While in custody, the woman freely expressed her sympathies with the anarchist movement. But a public prosecutor was to rule that there was not enough evidence to proceed with the charges against her and she was released". He clearly feels that if she admitted her sympathies with the anarchist movement, that was enough to convict her of crimes.

For your information Mr Miles, it isn't. But thinking that it is, is enough to show where you stand. The Donald Duck/Joseph Goebbels Prize for Journalism to the latest genius to hit Fleet street with an penful of prejudice.



"Of course I love my country, but I'm not a fanatic about it."





Black Flag's Court Circular



COUNTRYMEN GO HOME!

Operation Countryman, the investigation into corruption in the City of London and Metropolitan police forces was finally wound up in June. Originally briefed to investigate the City of London force alone it was compelled to look farther afield as more and more evidence came to light implicating officers from other forces. However the investigation was blocked by the unwillingness of the police in London to assist the investigating team.

To date there have been a number of attempted prosecutions arising from Countryman but none of them have been successful. Recently 2 detectives were acquitted of taking £12,000 part of the proceeds of a robbery, in return for suppressing evidence against a man. Gilbert Kelland, a senior Yard officer, said that reports of massive corruption within the force were widely exaggerated and asked how much credence could be given to evidence from criminals? Something that many convicted prisoners who were sentenced on the word of super-grasses might well agree!

A prisoner from Albany, Isle of Wight, won an important case against the prison department in May. It concerned the right of a prisoner to write to a solicitor or MP without interference from the prison authorities. Steven Raymond, serving a 10 year sentence for theft, applied for an immediate custodial sentence for the governor of Albany because he had repeatedly stopped prisoners mail to their legal advisors. The request, heard at the Law Courts in the Strand, London, was rejected by the judges who nevertheless upheld Steve's complaint.

Steve is currently sojourning at Parkhurst - guess he is not wanted at Albany!

Dr Alan Clift, a Home Office Forensic scientist, is under investigation for a series of major "mistakes" which have resulted in at least several wrongful convictions. The most celebrated victim of Clift's mistakes is John Preece, who has just been released after serving 8 years of a life sentence for a murder he did not commit.

Preece's conviction was largely due to Clift's evidence during the trial about the blood groups of Preece and the victim. Clift has been suspended for the past 4 years after other mistakes had come to light; though he continues to draw his full salary - more than £12,000 per year.

Ray Barron, who was acquitted last year on charges of conspiracy to rob, has decided not to stand trial on further charges and has jumped bail.

Ray was re-arrested immediately after his acquittal at the Old Bailey and was held for several days before being charged with 9 counts of robbery. Shortly afterwards he was released on bail.

Ray's attitude to his chances in his forthcoming trial may have been conditioned by the fact that in his last encounter with the police he was planted with a shotgun and masks - something the jury noted as they acquitted him.

At Oxford Crown Court earlier in June Ray's sureties were given one week to pay up. One of them, Time Out news editor, Duncan Campbell, was ordered to hand over the £1,000 he had put up for Ray.

MORRIS APPEAL

Micky Morris, sentenced in 1979, to 14 years imprisonment had his appeal against conviction heard in May. Micky was the victim of a particularly vicious grass, William Amies, whose exploits included sexually assaulting his victims during robberies. Amies, the chief prosecution witness, has a long history of mental illness which made him an especially unreliable witness. He also received the inducement of a 5 year sentence in return for his testimony.

However, the Appeal Court judges upheld Micky's conviction, although they cut his sentence to 10 years. Micky continues to deny any involvement in the robbery for which he was convicted. He is currently seeking permission to write to an MP to point out the discrepancy between the amount of remission that a prisoner in Northern Ireland can earn and the amount that other prisoners in the rest of the UK can earn.

BLACK FLAG'S COURT CIRCULAR tries to demonstrate the workings of the law in this country. The law is a powerful tool in the hands of the ruling class. It is the means they employ to mask their rule and to give it a sense of legitimacy and authority. It is important therefore, from their point of view, to attempt to show that the law is impartial, administered equally to everyone.

The COURT CIRCULAR, by focusing on the way the law the police, the prisons, and the judiciary operate, by examining concrete instances, seeks to destroy this myth and show that the law exists to protect the interests of capital and property and that it has nothing, even remotely, to do with justice.

We depend on information from prisoners, and others about specific cases. If you have something for us, please write to BLACK FLAG'S COURT CIRCULAR, BOX A, OVER THE WATER, SANDAY, ORKNEY, SCOTLAND.



PREACHING TO THE CONVERTED?

"If people go around preaching violence and revolution and a bombing exists in that context, they must expect to be the objects of police attention." - Inspector Habershon on the mass raids in the Angry Brigade period.

What if they preach violence and racialism? Then they can expect the police to deny all connection with their words and the actions that take place; and there will be no raids.

During the Angry Brigade period hundreds of homes of libertarians and sympathisers were broken into. Warrants were obtained without difficulty, people suspected of nothing but libertarian sympathies were rounded up and questioned, because top establishment figures had been attacked and Government property destroyed, though no person was ever killed or injured. It was made perfectly clear by Commander Bond, that these people were raided because of their opinions - he had no hesitation in saying to Christie when arrested: "You have publicly admitted being a member of the anarchist movement." Inspector Habershon indeed expressed great satisfaction at not having raided any members of the "legitimate Left" in which was included the Communist Party.

The same pattern of smash-ins, arbitrary arrests and detentions was followed in the Persons Unknown case, though here not only was nobody killed or injured, some of the crimes alleged had not even taken place; and some were only alleged after the trial was over and the people acquitted.

One has only to compare this attitude with that taken towards the fascists. Hundreds of racist attacks have been made by people openly declaring themselves to be members of racist and fascist organisations. There have been murders and injuries ensuing and all these assaults are clearly called for in the Nazi press.

Whereas screaming headlines proclaimed conspiracy in the Persons Unknown case (to commit acts never mentioned in court thereafter) and a prejudicial atmosphere created - which failed to convince the jury but was intended to do so - the press and police invariably play down racist murders. The mad fascist, who the other week kidnapped an innocent woman driver, put her in the boot, and drove it into a left wing bookshop to set it (and her) on fire, gets all the courtesy of the press. Its sub judice - don't mention it! Compare that with the press coverage of the Persons

Unknown trial - or the Anarchists Trial, as the press and lawyers now refer to it, though the judge insisted at the time that it was not a political trial.

Time and again the police say of a clearly racist murder or assault that it is not racial, that it is an ordinary crime - even though the culprits admit their allegiance to Nazi associations.

Compare the 10 year sentences served by the 4 who were convicted in the Angry Brigade trial, only for possessing firearms - they were acquitted of causing explosions - with the sentences of 6 months or so occasionally passed on the murderous heavily-armed fascist paramilitary groups. Even a 3 year sentence works out at less than that served by those who were acquitted in the anarchist case.

When it is said that New Cross was not a racialistic attack, how can the Black community, or anyone else, be expected to believe the police..when precisely the same thing is said about every racist murder and assault.

Yet does the public regard the

continued on page 9

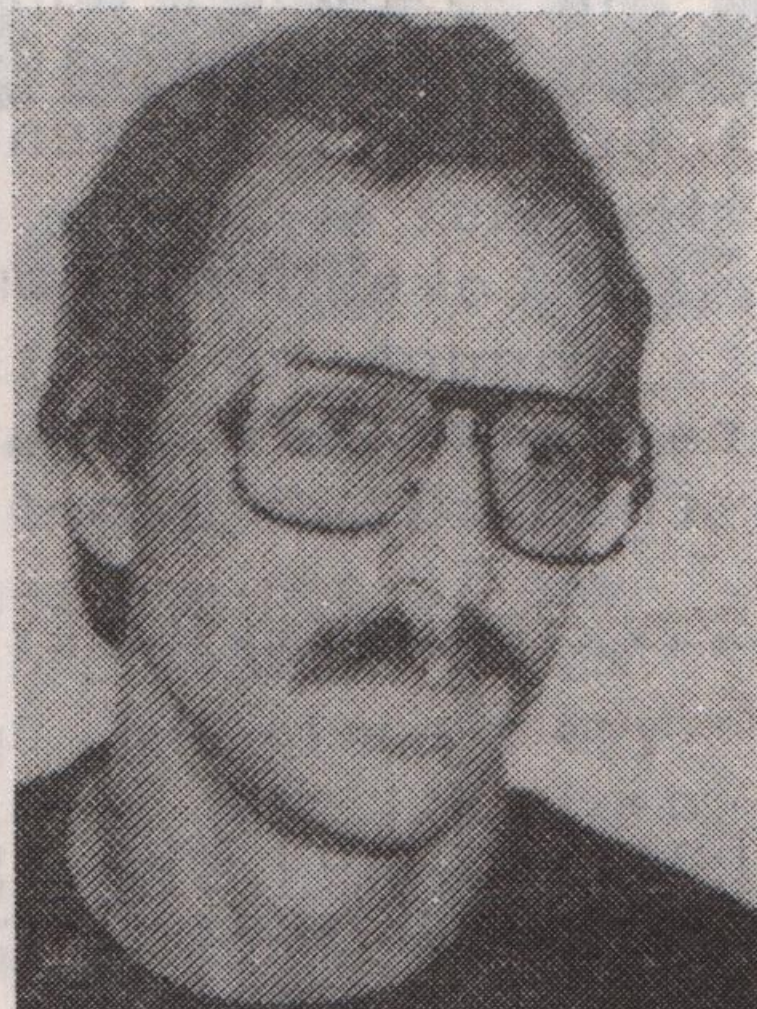
THE GERMAN HUNGER STRIKES



Gabrielle Rollnick.



Monica Berberich.



Knut Folkerts.

On 2nd February RAF and 2nd June Movement prisoners in the isolation wing of West Berlin (Moabit) and Stammheim prisons began a hunger strike against the isolation of political prisoners, for improvements in prison conditions, demanding political status, and the release of Gunther Sonnenberg (who suffers from brain damage as a result of being shot in the head when he was captured) and Verena Becker (who has tuberculosis). See RAF hunger strike document in last issue. The strike spread quickly to 11 prisons throughout West Germany, as well as to 3 political prisoners in Switzerland and one in Austria. At the same time numbers on hunger strike were swelled by "ordinary" prisoners joining in out of solidarity with the actions of the politicals and making their own demands for improvements in prison conditions. At one time the numbers of prisoners on hunger strike reached 300.

On 15th March fourteen 2nd June Movement prisoners in Berlin suspended their hunger strike after the government had conceded to their minimum demands: one extra visit per month; the stopping of isolation; granting of open visits where the glass partition was taken away and physical contact with visitors allowed.

In Bern Gabrielle Kroeher-Tiedmann, Christian Moeller and Rolf Clemens Wagner suspended their hunger strike after receiving a promise of being allowed to associate with 4 others. Meanwhile in Cologne, Dusseldorf and Celle, Karl-Heinz Dellwo, Stefan Wiesniewski and Gerd Schneider were force fed. Dellwo reached a critical condition, passing blood in his urine, and a second attempt at force feeding was abandoned because of the danger of suffocation. By 20th March 4 prisoners in Berlin: Regina Nicolai, Andreas Vogel, Gudrun Stuermer and Gabrielle Rollnick had also reached danger point. Rollnick suffered damage to her eyesight but resisted an attempt to force feed her.

Knut Folkerts became dangerously ill in Stammheim and was moved to the psychiatric wing of Hohenasberg in an attempt to isolate him further and break his hunger strike. Angelike Speitel in Cologne was force fed even though her condition was not serious enough to warrant it. Christoph Wackernagel, Hanna Krabbe and Waltraub Warmbier also reached a critical condition by 21st March.

On 22nd March seven lawyers representing the prisoners had talks with the federal attorney general Rebmann, who is responsible for implementing the programmes against the prisoners and demanded full negotiations. Rebmann refused to consider any of the prisoners demands unless the hunger strike was called off first. The next day Rebmann set off for the USA.

The West German state applies special programmes of imprisonment against those prisoners who come from militant anti-imperialist resistance groups. These prisoners are subjected to isolation

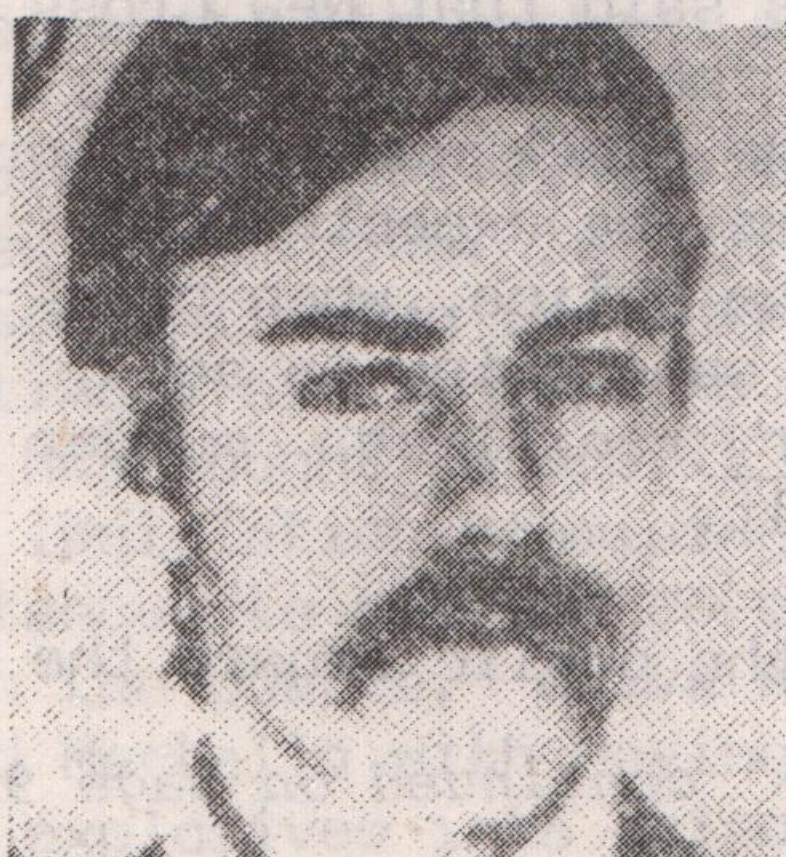
torture in the silent cells of high security wings - many for long periods - with no association periods at all, some of them have no exercise either. The isolation cells are air-conditioned, soundproofed, white-



Gabrielle Kroeher-Tiedemann

walled and constantly lit. Surveillance of the prisoners is total. If prisoners do have association it is behind a partition window of bullet proof glass. Visits are for one hour per month in similar conditions, if permitted at all. Strip searches take place for prisoners and visitors before and after any visit or association. The state has acknowledged the political content of their struggle by the methods it employs to try to crush it.

"Optical and acoustic surveillance has been systematised and perfected. In the silent wing itself a camera is installed, while in the yard, where nobody enters except us, seven cameras



Gunther Sonnenberg

scan the whole area. On the outside wall of the silent wing there is a double loudspeaker. It gives the command which ends the exercise period and probably records what we are saying. Inside, every sound we make is monitored electronically, indicated by different coloured lights showing which microphones are on. During exercise we are guarded by 2 or 3 female screws and one guard carrying walkie-talkies. Their walkie-talkie network covers every contact they have with us, from serving out meals to taking a shower." (Report by 5 women in Lubeck isolation wing).

"The artificiality of the surroundings and the stress of isolation are the means by which tensions are created between prisoners. These tensions are noted by the control and increased through manipulation. Programmes of privileges and punishments are devised to fit each individual prisoner, noting every nuance of the prisoner's behaviour. This is an attempt to influence where they have so far failed: our minds, our will to resist, our consciousness - to destroy it all" (Andreas Vogel & Till Meyer - Moabit prison).

The policy of criminalisation of political prisoners in Western



Siegfried Haag.

Europe and the way in which political prisoners are subjected to special programmes of imprisonment and treatment is a crucial part of a co-ordinated strategy intended to deny the political nature of the struggle, both inside and outside the prisons.

"Torture and the murder of political prisoners as well as executions on the streets are now not only matters of police tactics within a state that is the direct inheritor of fascism... Now German imperialism starts on its third run for world power not as the opponent but the ally of US capital, not alone but functioning within US foreign policy. The NATO high command directs the torture and murder of political prisoners as well as the assassination squads in Turkey, Ireland, Italy and Spain. And through the West German federal criminal bureau and the secret service they attempt to enforce these methods of repression to be used in all western countries. It was this same NATO high command which recently... gave orders that the demand for political status should not be granted." (RAF hunger strike declaration

At 11 am on 16th April RAF member Sigurd Debus (32) died in the eleventh week of the collective hunger strike. 25 RAF prisoners called off the hunger strike after the West German Minister for Justice had given an assurance to Amnesty International that none of the prisoners would be kept any longer in conditions of isolation but placed together in several small groups. Karl Heinz Dellwo and Heinz Herlitz carried on the hunger strike for a further 2 days because even worse conditions applied to them in Celle prison.

SOLIDARITY ACTIONS & RESISTANCE

The widespread support and solidarity all over the country for the hunger strikers was blamed by DER SPEIGEL on an organised network of "Revolutionary Cells" (RZ) and "circles of anti-fascist struggle" (Antifa).

Militant opposition still exists in the "model Germany" despite the attempts of the West German state to criminalise all support for the hunger strikers and suppress all resistance; despite the silence from the media and their refusal to portray the armed resistance as anything more than bandits or immoral lunatics manipulated by foreign governments in some grand web of conspiracy.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS:

21st February: Bomb attack (20lb plastique) on the American radio station "Radio Free Europe" & "Radio Liberty" in Munich. 8 people injured and propaganda broadcasts to Eastern Europe interrupted by the blast, which caused over £1½m damage. Responsibility claimed by the "Armed Secret Organisation".

2nd March: Bomb (6.6lb of explosive) found in a storage room of the Berlin company Kraftwerk Union, which builds nuclear power plants. Arson attack on a nuclear reactor construction site near Munich causes £250,000 damage. Both attacks follow a weekend of protests against the building of a nuclear power plant near Hamburg.

4th March: 24 relatives of hunger strikers occupy the offices of DER SPEIGEL in protest at the refusal of the West German media to publish information on the hunger strike. The Goethe Institute in Amsterdam is also occupied in support of the prisoners' demands.

16th March: 2 men arrested in arson attack on the Reichstag building which causes £10,600 damage. A third escapes.

21st March: 1,000 people demonstrate outside Moabit prison (Berlin) in support of the hunger strikers. In Heidleberg buses are painted with slogans stating the hunger strikers' demands.

80 people arrested during a national demonstration in support of the hunger strikers that takes place despite a Government ban. 3 of those arrested are charged with "advertising a terrorist group".

At the end of March a video of the DER SPEIGEL occupation, which has

been shown widely, is screened at a women's conference of 6,000 in Hamburg. The women respond immediately by marching on the local TV & radio station demanding that the film be shown on TV.

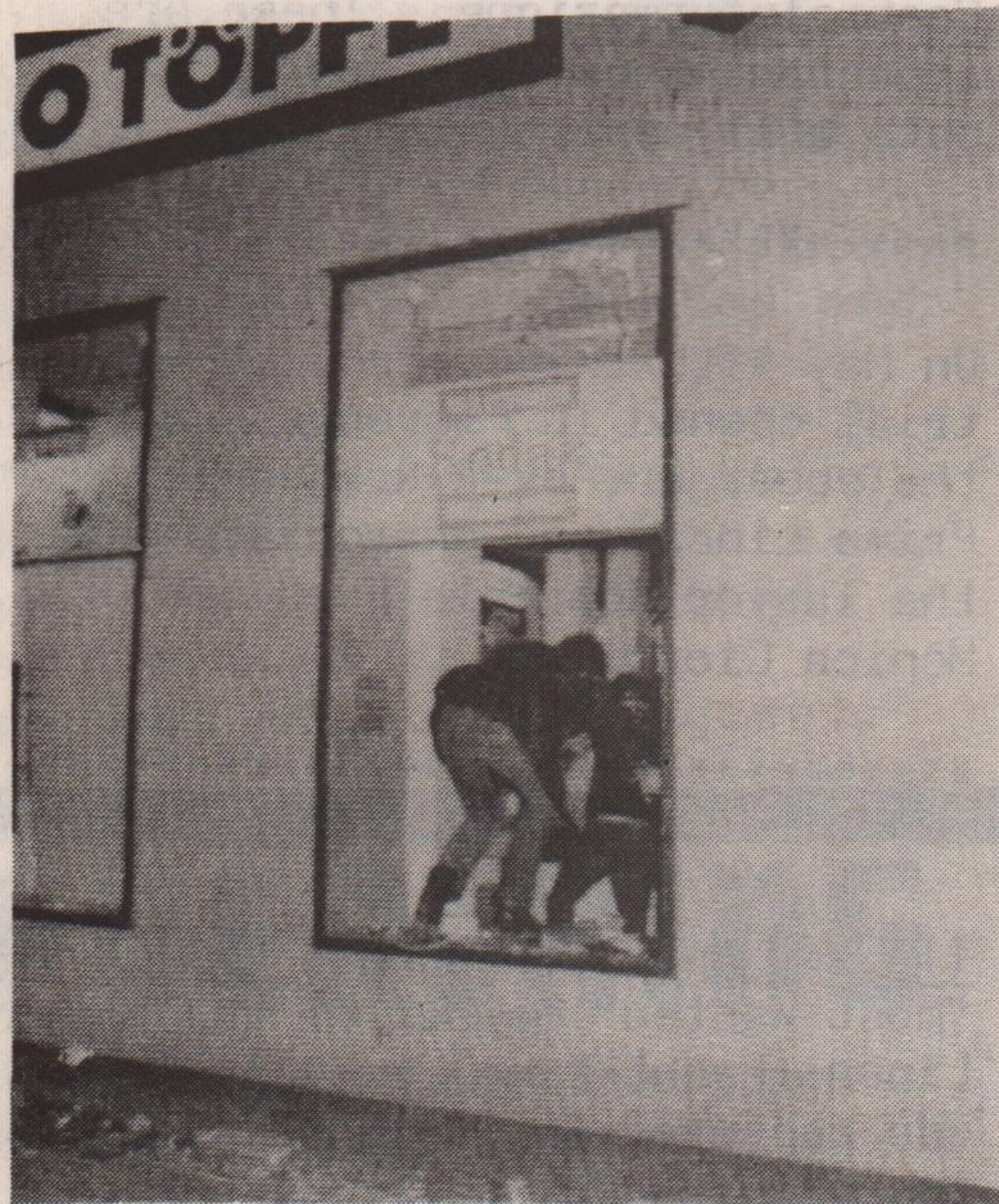
29th March: Bomb attack on the US security office at Giessen causes extensive damage (£22,000)

13th April: a US troop train is sabotaged near Hanover by a cable placed across the line, and police battle with rioting looters in West Berlin. Both actions are in support of the hunger strikers. 28 people arrested.

15th April: Bomb in Hamburg university wrecks the site of a proposed Psychological Institute intended as a laboratory for the perfection of torture techniques. Slogans are left painted on the wall in support of the hunger strikers: "Solidarity with the Starving".

3 fires are started in Luenberg (a flour mill, a snack bar & a carpet shop) in support of the hunger strikers.

17th April: Following the death of hunger striker Sigurd Debus, a 6 kilo bomb explodes in front of the Max Plank Research Institute in West Berlin. Hunger strike supporters smash windows and battle with the police in 3 cities in protest at Debus's death.

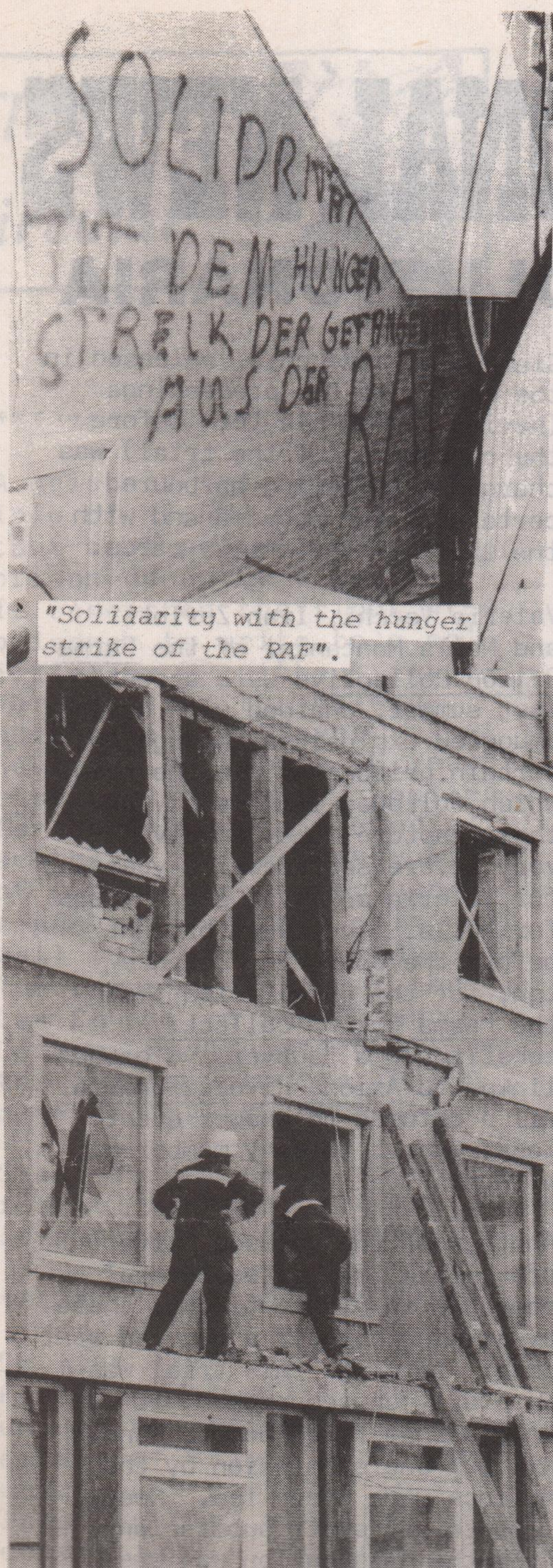


Hungerstrike supporters looting in Hamburg.

The Ministry of Interior is attacked with Molotov Cocktails.

A bomb explodes in front of the Ministry of Labour in Lubeck.

25 bomb threats are made to shops police stations and court buildings against the "Imperialist pig state of West Germany".



Wrecked torture institute after a visit from hunger strike supporters at Hamburg University

1st May: Vienna City councillor & Minister for Energy and Transport, Heinz Nittel, is shot dead by someone using a Makarov pistol.

11th May: Heinz Karry, Economics and Technology Minister and Deputy Premier of Hessen is shot dead in his Frankfurt apartment. 6 shots from a .22 high standard pistol were fired through his bedroom window by someone on a ladder outside as Karry lay in bed.

14th May: 350 squatters battle with police in West Berlin after 13 squatters had been arrested during a raid.

27th May: More than 100 police and several demonstrators injured during street battles between squatters and police in West Berlin.

INSTANDBESETZUNG

- or how to get hold of a decent roof over your head.

Over the past year or so there have been occasional news items concerning violent, bloody clashes between the forces of "order" and groups of demonstrators, mainly young people. Which just goes to show that all is not well in the bourgeois paradises of old Europe. In Zurich, at Xmas time, hundreds of frustrated youths (frustrated in spite of the plenty) set about attacking and looting stores overflowing with what would appear to have been the most alluring consumer goods...and looting, not for the purpose of purloining them, but in order to destroy them. This was only yet another in a series of confrontations dating back to the summer in Zurich and the closure by the city authorities of a youth centre, which, allegedly, had been a drugs market and a "hotbed" of misfits.

Simultaneously in Berlin the worsening housing scarcity affecting the less privileged, as a result of the brazen property speculation in the older working class districts of the city, spawned a new social movement.. the instanbesetzung - or seizure of empty houses for the purpose of renovating them. The word is a play upon the supposed Instandsetzen, or renovation of old apartments, the pretext upon which landlords and large builders oust the old tenants so that they can "modernise" the old districts with generous government subsidies. The instanbesetzung is the people's reply to this: it means squatting in the buildings and doing the renovations oneself.

It is estimated that some 80,000 people are presently looking for somewhere to live in Berlin; 17,000 of these are deemed specially urgent cases. Each year the landlords of some 40,000 apartments refuse to renew the tenant's leases. The apartments are left empty to deteriorate so that there will be proof of the need to renovate and thereby claim the grant. Once modernised the flats can claim up to 200% the amount they fetched earlier. The real beneficiaries of the rehabilitation programme are the landlords, estate agents and building firms. Estate agents do a great business selling empty homes to builders who modernise them and sell the leases at exorbitant profits. On the other hand the building of new apartments is practically at a standstill at a time when the government is pouring huge sums of money into the construction of commercial premises. Legislation to protect tenants is not implemented and the authorities whose responsibility it is to see that

such legislation is observed stand back and watch the stampede to tear down the older quarters of the city.

One of the districts affected by this kiss of death "rehabilitation" scheme is Kreuzberg, beside the famous wall. As the inhabitants say, with typical Berlin humour, "what the war could not do, the rehabilitators have managed" i.e. devastate their district. It is not simply a question of cheap accommodation; what is at stake is something equally important...the quality and style of life in the old districts. Neighbours know one and other and there is a very lively community life. Whenever the old tenants are compelled to leave Kreuzberg, driven out by the landlords, the alternative, if any, is to move into some concrete ghetto on the outskirts of the city, where they not only live in utter isolation but in areas where the rents are usually higher.

It has been in Kreuzberg over the past year that the first Instandbesetzung took place: empty houses were spontaneously occupied usually by young people determined to fix them up and live in communities. In December 80 there must have been 20 occupied houses in Kreuzberg but the movement has spread like wildfire to other adjacent districts, like Neukölln, Moabit etc. It is presently estimated that in all there are about 50 occupied houses with around 500 residents.

Kreuzberg has also been the scene of the first confrontation with the powers that be. On 12th December the police, in defence of property rights, attempted to dislodge the squatters. But they met with resistance. There is a massive police presence but there is no shortage of support for the squatters.

Wisely anticipating official reprisals, the occupiers had set up a telephone alarm network by means of which they were able to mobilise friends and sympathisers at short notice. Fleets of taxis crammed with people raced to the scene. Barricades were thrown up...the police made baton charges. Squatters & friends retreated, the stonethrowing began and the first casualties were the plate glass windows of the new Kreuzberg shopping centre and the banks and the police (of course). The destruction was not mindless. They were attacking the symbols of the "rehabilitators alliance" between speculators, the banks and the police. *page 7*



Meanwhile more cars were arriving bringing whole families, young people, workers. Although many of the residents steered clear of the battle there can be no doubt of the groundswell of sympathy and solidarity with the squatters, since the others too, might at any time come up for the eviction treatment from their landlords.

After 6 hours fighting the tally was 200 injured (some of the injuries among the squatters were serious) several arrests and the aborting of the attempted eviction. The extent of police violence and the manipulation of the media, which sought to explain away the confrontations as the result of the presence in Kreuzberg of Kraakers (as the Amsterdam squatters are called) did not succeed in stopping the movement or dividing it.

The movement is a spontaneous reaction, like its counterparts in Zurich and Amsterdam and elsewhere in Germany, against the rampant deterioration of living conditions in the larger cities. The numbers effectively occupying houses and actively participating in confrontations are small but solidarity is much more widespread. A week after the confrontation at Kreuzberg there was a peaceful demonstration of 10,000 people demanding legal recognition of squats and release for those arrested.

The demonstration wound its way around the city centre and finished at Moabit prison. Only recently (early February) the police evicted 15 squatters in Goettingen. Later some of the demonstrators set fire to the local housing offices and smashed the windows of the Christian Democrat headquarters. That same week, in Berlin, there was a further demonstration in support of the squatters. Also in Berlin, in January, the Social Democrat government was forced to resign and a political crisis sparked by a financial scandal aggravated by the Instandbesetzungen. The movement continues to spread and the new administration is overwhelmed by spontaneous direct actions. Verena Stolcke.



INTERNATIONAL NEWS

AZIONE RIVOLUZIONARIA

From 11th February to 19th March Florence Assize Court heard charges against 27 comrades, alleged members of an "armed gang" (the state's way of describing a guerilla group) called Azione Rivoluzionaria. The indictments also referred to "subversive association", possession of weapons, participation in hold-ups etc. Of the 27 accused, 13 were in prison (only one, Giampaolo Verdecchia, has just been set free) whilst the others are still at large. One, Rita Cinto, surrendered herself to the Court whilst the trial was in progress, having been on the run before. The comrades concerned were arrested at different times and their arrests were unconnected.

Rocco Martino, Carmela Pane, Willy Piroch and Gaby Hartwig were arrested on 20th February 1979 after police uncovered guns and explosives in their car. Whilst facing a trial on charges for possession, they admitted their membership of the clandestine anarcho-communist organisation Azione Rivoluzionaria. As the trial progressed, they refused to answer questions and dismissed their lawyers.

Juan Soto Paillacar, a Chilean refugee (Pinochet's government unsuccessfully sought his extradition) was charged with membership of A.R. and with possession of weapons, participation in a hold-up and other offences. At present he has a serious leg wound which may require amputation as the jailers are known to neglect the health of prisoners. During the trial, he too refused to reply to questioning and stated simply: "I am an internationalist militant. I do not recognise this court. I dismiss my lawyer. I do not wish to answer your questions. Long Live the Social Revolution!"

Renato Piccolo also arrested in March 79 faced the same charges as Paillacar. So did Davide Fastelli, who was charged with aiding and abetting Paillacar. When captured, Fastelli was in a sanatorium undergoing treatment for nervous problems. After a few days in prison he was transferred to the asylum for the criminally insane where he was given treatment consisting mainly of sedation. His condition has somewhat improved now as he has been returned to prison.

Roberto Gemignani faced the same charges plus forgery of documents. Rita Cinto who was still on the run when the trial started was charged with having maintained contact with members of A.R.

Nicoletta Martella, who was arrested then freed, is now back in prison following the invented testimony of one Vincenzo Oliva who has sought to profit from recent legislation promising reduced sentences to any who co-operate with the courts. Oliva has accused Martella with having smuggled explosives into prison.

Giampaolo Verdecchia, released in the course of the proceedings (having served his term before the conclusion of the trial) was charged with having harboured certain of the accused and with the theft of 5 identity cards.

Valeria Vecchi, Ivan Zerlotti and Nella Montanini of the Parma Prison Collective were arrested last summer, charged with having smuggled explosives through to certain prisoners. In the trial which followed immediately on their capture, they received very severe sentences: 8 years for Valeria and Ivan and 5 years for Nella. They were brought before the court in Florence too, for the judge ruled that the Parma Prison collective constitutes a "subversive group" linked to Azione Rivoluzionaria. All 3 refused to answer questions, except to deny membership of A.R.

Another of the accused Salvatore Lepera implicated several comrades in his testimony, thereby earning himself a reduced sentence. As usual this trial was carefully choreographed, it was only a sham fixed before hand. All but one submission by the defence were overruled. Needless to say every submission from the prosecution was sustained; even the prosecution's request for sentences were granted by the court.

ON AZIONE RIVOLUZIONARIA.

from "CONTRIBUTI ALLA CRITICA ARMATA LIBERTARIA", Edizioni Anarchismo, 1980.

Azione Rivoluzionaria came into being in 1976 and claimed a variety of attacks. Among them ones against the Vatican-owned, Edizioni Paoline; the La Spezia fashion house; "Luisa Spagnoli" because it exploited prison labour; the construction sites of new prisons at Florence and Livorno and others; a job agency in Turin; Michelin plant in Turin; the IPCA company in

Cirie, known as the "cancer factory" on account of its work hazards; the premises of the Milan daily Corriere della Sera; the Bank of Roma & Ferrari in Rome; the Christian Democrat HQ in Aosta; IBM in Turin....

The attacks which made the greatest impact in the media have been those directed at individuals. The wounding of Dr Mammoli (31st March 1977) a Pisa prison doctor who allowed Franco Serrantini to die, untended, of a brain haemorrhage on 5th May 72. Serrantini had been savagely beaten by the police in a demonstration. Brought to trial Dr Mammoli had naturally been found not guilty.

A.R. has other things to its credit, for example, the distribution of a phoney tract purporting to come from the 3 biggest union groupings (the CGIL, CISL and UIL) calling for a general strike "against torture, special prisons and the reactionary course which some would foist upon the labour movement."

The comrades of A.R. have not left it to the mass media to handle their propaganda. They have issued several theoretical documents and appeals to the movement at large, some of these have been published by the Anarchist press - Anarchismo, A Rivista Anarchica, CDA - and the marxist Controinformazione. These are important documents and up to date analyses.

On May 11th this year another trial opened in Florence. Before the court are ex-A.R. people (now Prima Linea) and anarchists like the lawyer Gabriele Fuga and Monica Giorgi.

ITALY: Maurice Bignami (29), "most wanted" member of the Prima Linea (Front Line) guerilla group, was captured in Turin on 5th February in a gun battle, after a robbery of a jewellery store. Bignami, who is wanted in connection with at least 4 assassinations carried out by Prima Linea, declared himself to be a political prisoner when he was arrested. 2 of his comrades managed to hijack a car and escape.



(PHOTO: Maurice Bignami)



(PHOTO: Mario Moretti, right, and Enrico Fenzi at their trial in Milan).

On 13th May, Mario Moretti, reputed Red Brigades leader, suspected of organising the kidnapping of Aldo Moro in 1978, was sentenced to 8 years by a Milan court for possession of arms.

2 JUNE MOVEMENT

Wanted 2nd June Movement member Hans Peter Knoll (31) was arrested in Australia on 28th February on information from the German police and secretly deported to West Germany.

On 16th May three members of 2nd June Movement, Gabrielle Rollnick (31), Angelika Goder (31) and Klaus Viehmann (26) were each sentenced to 15 years for involvement in the kidnappings of CDU politician Peter Lorenz (Feb 75) and Austrian industrialist Walter Palmer (Nov 77).

BOLIVIA

LETTER FROM BOLIVIA.

La Paz 20th January 81.

I write today with news of the massacre which took place on Thursday last. All the information available to date indicates that the government has made up its mind to physically eliminate all opposition. In addition there are strong indications that the Argentinian intelligence services were behind this latest butchery. Thursday's outrage was yet another phase in their plans.

How was the meeting place discovered? There are various explanations but no way of knowing. The fact is that 12 people were to have met and that could scarcely have gone unnoticed. What no one could have foreseen was the atrocity and depravity of the crime. Regretably the left thinks of fascism in terms of leaflets and cannot grasp its true nature. No one imagined that the fascists would so savagely put an end to a peaceful political meeting, with machine-gun fire and that people would be hacked and clubbed to death with knives, bayonets and rifle butts. One father was told that his son's body had been run

through countless times by a bayonet and utterly disfigured before they deigned to finish him off.

The statements of those few people brave enough to speak out all agree. They all say that they heard many shots followed by a momentary silence and that those inside the flat surrendered. Ricardo Navarro came out with his hands in the air. A burst of gunfire cut him down where he stood. They also say, despite the army's statement, there was no policeman killed and that in his place they buried a peasant from Caranavi, a leader of the MIR and a parliamentary candidate.

Already the COB has brought out a document entitled 'Massacre'. We must steel ourselves for further heavy blows for it seems that the soldiers found lists of names and telephone numbers. Apparently only 3 leaders of the trade union organisation managed to get away. The principle one arrived late for the meeting only to find the building already surrounded.

First the military police and town police surrounded the whole district. Then they singled out and cut off the block containing the targeted house. Finally the paramilitaries went into action, stormed the house and...massacre followed. We shall learn more later. The MIR has issued a complete list of the dead and sent it to Switzerland.

That is it basically: a bit confused, written in the heat of an exasperated anger and feeling of impotence. Many have surrendered to fear. Our main task now... is to set to work, calmly and seriously.

THE MASSACRE TOOK PLACE ON 15TH JANUARY. 2 MIR PEOPLE WERE KILLED ON THE SPOT. THEIR BODIES WERE PLACED ON A TRUCK AND TAKEN, ALONG WITH 6 LIVE COMRADES TO THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR. 8 HORRIBLY MUTILATED, DISFIGURED CORPSES EMERGED.

SPAIN

LUIS ANDRES EDO, secretary of the Regional Catalan Committee of the CNT and organiser of the Construction Union in Barcelona, has been in prison since October 1980. Of the several people arrested with him only one remains in prison: Jose Ros Ponce. It is clear that Roas is in jail to justify a charge of conspiracy against Edo, who could hardly conspire on his own.

Edo is accused of "common agreement to possess arms, falsify documents, manufacture explosives and propaganda of an anarchist character and maintain subversive contacts."

This is a very ambiguous and cloudy accusation. That Edo maintains "propaganda of an anarchist character" is patently obvious. Note of course that the police (as elsewhere) use the phrase in its fascist connotation - anarchism is criminal of itself.



The judge was prepared to grant bail on these charges but the police objected "because of his influence with the youth". The charge is clearly political directed against the union once the biggest trade union - almost the only one in Catalonia - and a thorn in the flesh of the rival socialist and communist unions.

It is almost certain that this is part of the drive to "purify" the trade union atmosphere and to reduce all unions to a tamed state.

Send protests to: the Spanish Ambassador (citing Juzgado de Instruccion num 7 of Barcelona, summary no. 165/80).

continued from page 5

Anarchists with the same abhorrence as it does the fascists? The answer is that the anarchists can hold meetings freely and without any attack by the public no matter what is said about them in the media. Reasonable juries can understand and even come to sympathise with anarchists when they are attacked in courts. The press may try to equate anarchism with murder and mayhem but the public knows from its own experience the fascists are the mass murderers.

Albert Meltzer.

SOVIET EDUCATION
(Impressions on a trip to Russia).

"Do you have any problems of drug-taking in the University?" asked one of the social workers in our party, of the Party official in the University of Leningrad. He answered, perfectly frankly, that the problem was unknown in Russia, adding that "maybe in a few years, we shall have the problem, now we have no experience". But he firmly rejected that there were any drop-outs among University students. "Such a thing is unthinkable", he said. "The students represent our elite. The brains of the country. They will have the best jobs, we shall certainly never waste what we have expended on them by letting them be unemployed. This shocks us most about the West."

Murmurs of approval among the visiting teachers and social workers! He went on to explain why there was no vandalism, not even any graffiti, in the cities of Russia - a thing that is as striking to the Western visitor as the absence of advertising.

In the schools, "if a student is uncooperative, the teacher does her best with him (teacher being usually female because it is not a very well paid profession). If this does not work, she calls on the other pupils to gang up (his word was co-operate) to get the offender to see the light. If this does not work, the teacher will call on the headmaster (almost invariably male, we were told). The headmaster will do his best, bringing in the "influence" of older pupils, but may finally approach the trade union representative. Then father is seen at work and told he must help in rehabilitating the offender, or face the loss of bonuses and financial incentives at work. He may even lose time to go home and supervise the child's extra-school education. Mother, who depends on her job too, may even be told that she cannot work any more and must stay at home doing one job properly. Only in the last resort, we were told smugly, was the child sent to anything like a remand home. "And that is the only part of our educational system for which the parents must pay," he said. "But it rarely happens."

There were general smiles all round. Most of our excursion were liberals, but almost all were social workers and teachers. This was indeed utopia for them! Indeed, one of them, on the coach, misunderstanding my horror of the whole thing, said that "it probably isn't as good as that really, they must have some problems they won't admit. Not very likely, though."

A.M.

page 9

THE RULE OF LAW OR:

HOW THE RICH EXPLOIT THE POOR
HOW CAPITAL STEALS FROM LABOUR
HOW PROPERTY REMAINS INTACT
HOW THE DISINHERITED GET TRAMPLED ON.

Professor Lombrozo expressed a very straightforward view of crime in society, in his book "The Female Offender" (1897). An acknowledged expert on the topic, he maintained that criminality had no connection with "environmental" factors but was due to the evil doings of the "born criminal". Having established this principle, Lombrozo felt able to go further and isolate and identify the physical characteristics of the criminal type. Some of the characteristics he discovered were: thick, black hair; a receding chin; 'vacant eyes'; asymmetry in the face; a disproportionately large skull and so forth. The "incredibly ugly" featured prominently in his various works as being particularly prone to criminal behaviour.

Few criminologists would dare to repeat Lombrozo's view today, but fewer still would admit that crime and law enforcement is not so much concerned with morality, ethics or establishing a code of social behaviour based on 'moral' considerations but with the naked self-interest of the ruling class, with a device by which one class establishes and legitimises its rule over another. And this has always been so.

The development of the law in Europe was always crucially linked with the ruling class. Justice, dispensed at the courts of feudal kings in return for money, was sought by nobles, who wished to reinforce or claim particular rights over territory. Similarly the papal courts in the early middle ages did business on a strictly cash basis. The litigants came to the court (at Rome), paid money for their case to be heard, and went away after the adjudication. Needless to add, the peasantry, tied to the feudal manors were not given the opportunity to resort to the law, even if they had the money. For them justice was still the prerogative of the local lord who presided in his own court.

Another element of the development of law codes was the intimate connection between the secular authorities and the church. Mortal sins were, for example, capital crimes. Missing mass on Sundays was a criminal offence, as was swearing, adultery, blasphemy, heresy and so on.

How terrible this combination could be was established in the witch-craze of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The hunt for witches began in the mountainous areas of western Europe, which had their own cultures and languages and were most resistant to the encroachments of the absolutist and centralist state. These areas were therefore considered by rulers such as Francis 1 of France, and Pope Innocent VIII as potential threats to their political supremacy. Thus the hunt was not simply a matter of the Dominican friars persecuting people over issues of doctrine but was equally a manifestation of political and social intolerance. The law, religious and criminal, was used in a ruthless drive towards orthodoxy.

From this it can be seen that religious and cultural conformity was declared illegal because it was thought to contain inherent threats to the primacy of the state. A more direct and more articulate threat was made by the radical sects during and after the English Civil War (1642-49). Once again the law was used to suppress movements which called for law reform, the abolition of tithes, and the separation of wealth from power.

The difference between the 'witches' of the sixteenth century and the radicals of the seventeenth century illustrate the way in which the ruling class changed their perception of their enemies. But it also demonstrates a remarkable continuity. 'Witches' (and Jews) were seen as threats because of their religious and cultural non-conformity; radicals were also seen as non-conformists but with the difference that it was openly admitted that theirs was a political non-conformity. Common to both was the fact that they were both illegal, both outside the law.

No member of the ruling class in Hanoverian England, no gentleman or lord, would have bothered to deny that the draconian law code then in force was designed for anything other than the protection of their property rights from the lower order. Indeed, this was the rationale of the law, according to the spirit of the times. The Black Act was enforced in order to safeguard the

property rights of the rich. Poaching, taking from fish ponds and deer shooting were all made offences punishable by the severest penalties. The poor, hard hit by years of bad harvest and trade depression, were to be warned that they must not let economic desperation drive them to expropriate their better's property.

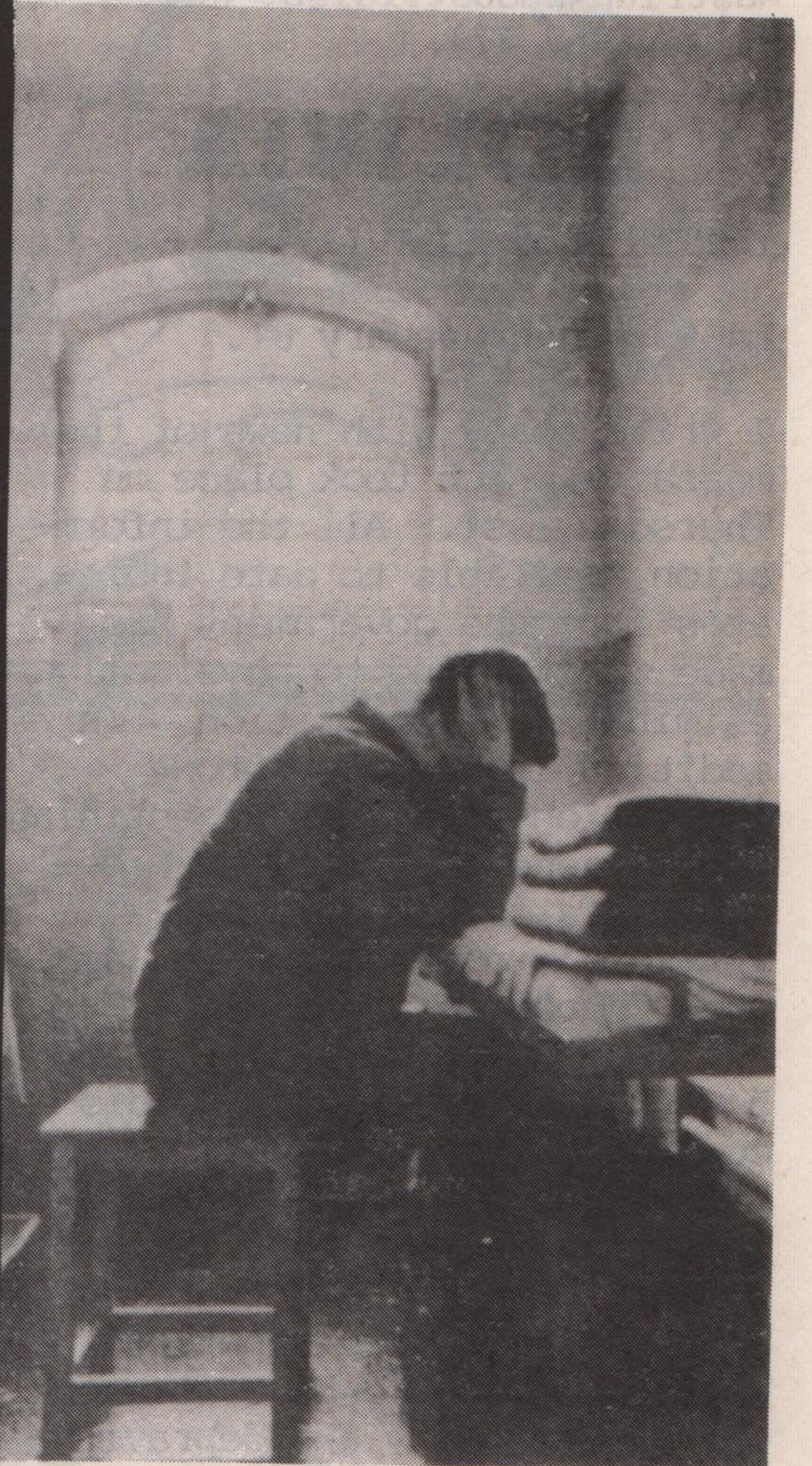
In modern society the police force has the role not simply of crime prevention or detection but also of surveillance. The metropolitan police force, the creation of Sir Robert Peel in 1829, was briefed to report on any sign of political unrest within working class communities. The gentry, suspicious of central government's attempts to displace the parish constables, only agreed to Peel's proposals for reorganising the police, because they felt particularly threatened by working class unrest at the time. They watched nervously as industrialisation and urbanisation broke down existing social bonds and concentrated large numbers of working people together. They expected that the new police force would be instrumental in retaining the status quo and securing their interests.

Things were simpler in the past. That the law and the law enforcement agencies were employed to ensure that there were no threats to the stability of the state was never in doubt. Everyone knew it; the ruling class openly admitted it. Now of course this element of law enforcement is played down in public. The police and the law are now 'non-political'. The role of the policeman is to ensure that citizens can go about their normal, lawful business without interruption from muggers, rapists and hoodlums. 'Humanity', 'consensus', and so forth are the watch words which have replaced 'repression' and 'intimidation'. But the fact remains that in the final analysis the police role has gone unchanged in all important respects, and the law still aims at safeguarding the rule of property and the security of the wealthy.

TIME OUT STRIKE

In May, this year, 64 workers at TIME OUT (a London weekly magazine) went on strike over the management's attempt to end an equal pay agreement which had existed since the magazine was founded. In June the owner of TIME OUT, Social Democratic Party member, Tony Elliott, sacked the strikers and had them evicted from the offices in Covent Garden, by some hired thugs.

Since the strike TIME OUT has not been printed and Tony Elliott is said to be losing a great deal of money but that has not deterred him from refusing to come to a settlement. Duncan Campbell, former news editor, says that a new publication is in the offing which will continue Time Out's tradition of combining politics and entertainments guide + equal pay for all workers. At the moment the sacked workers are looking for financial backing to get the new magazine on the road. We wish them well.



DON'T BE LIKE THIS POOR SOD! SUBSCRIBE NOW TO ENSURE YOU GET YOUR COPY OF BLACK FLAG!

SUPPORT LAW & ORDER

THE SECURITY FORCES REGRET THE INCONVENIENCE CAUSED BY THESE BARRIERS UNFORTUNATELY THEY ARE ESSENTIAL FOR PUBLIC SAFETY AND TO ASSIST IN THE DEFEAT OF TERRORISM

LETTERS

Jose Ros Ponce & Luis Edo - from BARCELONA PRISON

Just received your letter; you should know already that I am never in poor spirits, no matter what the difficulties may be and I am not about to let things get me down on this occasion. Fortunately there are still many friends such as yourself to take an interest in the case, although you doubtless are aware that some have seized upon our difficulty to launch the usual attacks upon us. The attacks are nothing new but given our circumstances they have taken a more serious turn.

When first placed under arrest (on 8th October 80) the general impression we had (after police questioning) was that we should be freed in no more than 5 or 6 weeks. Of the 12 originally arrested, six walked free after a preliminary hearing, after spending nine days in custody, held under the provisions of the Ley Antiterrorista [similar to the Prevention of Terrorism Act in this country] At the end of last year (1980) another 3 were released; and one month later another one. We all expected that, in no time at all, it would be the turn of we two, who remained in prison, to walk free. However there has been no action over the last two months.

During all this time we took the view that there was no need to mount a campaign on our behalf, for that would only waste the energies of our colleagues who have other concerns and campaigns to contend with; and frankly, we took this view because we confidently expected that the wheels of the judicial process alone would regularise our position. Things have run completely counter to our expectations and, naturally we now find ourselves obliged to change our attitude.

Let this be stated clearly: at no time have we sought to hold the centre stage and hog the limelight by exploiting the fact that we were prisoners - quite the contrary. We did nothing which might make us the "centre" of the attention of militants, the Organisation or the Movement. Consciously and deliberately we opted to play it cool and quiet, lest we be thought to be making demands and bringing moral pressures to bear upon our colleagues.

Consequently, if our attitude has changed, it is not because of any lust for personal glorification (that lust is one we have never felt, unless the glory be that of being of service to fellow activists, the Organisation and the Movement).

In this respect we feel that the time has come when we must suggest that we mobilise all of our resources to mount a campaign of propaganda agitation in order to expose the nature of our detention in custody. The charges against us are, to be honest, laughable. Jose is charged with possession of an unloaded, turn of the century revolver; and I am charged with the possession of one blank passport and possession of a text (several duplicated pages long) on the manufacture of explosives, received through the post. By contrast much more serious charges were levelled against two of those already released.

And that is precisely what is so puzzling...that we, the only two detained in custody, are precisely the two facing charges which usually result in the release on remand within several weeks. The fact is perfectly understandable once one is aware of the political activism of we two - the two who remain prisoners.

In 1969, under Franco, when just 18 years old, Jose Ros Ponce was arrested, tried and sentenced for illegal association and propaganda; subsequently he has been prominent in the general strikes in the construction industry in Barcelona province in 1975, 76 & 77. All of these things have brought him to the notice of the forces of repression, and he is distinguished as a labour militant of note.

Since 1976 Jose has shown himself as one of the foremost reorganisers of the C.N.T.'s construction syndicate in Barcelona. It must be borne in mind that the Barcelona Construction Union is the first union to have begun to advocate a break with the Convenios Colectivos, a model of labour relations set down by Franco and retained to this day. The union has also been prominent in the clash of tendencies within the C.N.T. in its advocacy of retaining the anarchist outlook of the C.N.T. For all of these reasons the forces of repression have been concerned to break the impetus of this union.

That accounts for why we are being kept in prison:

1. It serves as a warning to our colleagues.
2. It discredits us by alleging that we are terrorists.
3. As the police failed to implicate us in acts of terrorism, this is their way of taking revenge.

Jose Ros Ponce & Luis Andres Edo
Barcelona 7.5.81.

INTERVIEW

Interview with a former member of the Leningrad commune - in November 1978, aged 16, he was forced to leave the USSR.

Q. Certain of the main figures in the Left Opposition group have been active since February 76. What was going on at that time?

A. Well, on the occasion of the CPSU's 25th Congress some young people brought out some tracts. These tracts were pro-communist and took a stand in favour of communism with a human human face. Then the KGB arrested Andrei Reznikov and Alexandr Skobov among others. Their tracts had closed with the words: "long life to communism" Long live the new revolution" The group was pro communist and pro marxist but it also contained anarchists and others.

Q. What was the subsequent evolution of the group?

A.. After the 76 episode, Skobov set up a commune in Leningrad. Among the young there is a great fad for hitchhiking and we had a certain system to help us with it. If you wanted to go, say, from Leningrad to Odessa, we could let you have the addresses of people prepared to give you some food and a place to sleep. That way you would discover that there is a commune here and one there etc. So a network was built up.

Q. How did the commune come to be the focus of a political movement?

A. There was a lot of discussion in the commune. We talked about the situation in the country, the situation abroad etc. We sensed the extent of the system's hypocrisy. So many lies. One was only allowed to interpret history or literature according to the official line. We issued pamphlets - we customarily portrayed the USSR as non-communist and non-marxist, the CP not being a marxist party, in so far as all power was in State hands. Communism was to have been a free society.

Q. What were the main political persuasions of the group?

A. I would say there was three: marxists; anarchists; plus left democrats - they only got involved in the democratic movement, the human rights movement. We had tactical and strategic differences; there was a whole range of opinions.

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ANSWERS TO QUIZ

1) The spontaneous occupation of the London underground railway system as air raid shelters, later regularised and organised by the state despite its earlier opposition to the idea.

2) Though presumably any organisation, even one with which one disagrees, can call itself anything it was laid down by Lord Northcliffe in 1920, in a house "rule book" later adopted by all his newspapers and to this day by the right wing London "Daily Mail", that the

rightful name of the Industrial Workers of the World was the Independent Workers of the World. The intention was presumably to mislead, perhaps to hide, that it was a union organisation as distinct from a political body.

3) She was a pacifist as well as a Christian but went to Spain in 1936 and served in the C.N.T. Militia.

4) In its early days most, and after 1914, all, its members were women, and most were anarchists. Some lived in Woolwich but others came from elsewhere in London - first as an alternative to the women's suffrage movement women's suffrage (middle class) clubs, later because they became convinced anarchists.

5) General Ludendorff, arch-Junker reactionary and one of the founders of the Nazi Party, made the appeal, in pamphlet form, in the Yiddish language. It was distributed in W.W.1 in the Jewish villages appealing for aid for the advancing Germans. Nevertheless it did nothing for the German Army since the villages mostly consisted of non-combatants, others being conscripted to the front anyway. However it incited great massacres by the retreating Russians.

6) Ehrlich and Alter, leaders of the Polish Socialist Jewish Bund, escaped the Nazis and from Russia tried to organise the Jewish workers in Poland into an underground resistance. They were executed by the Russians - Stalin had no intention of allowing any underground resistance that was not controlled by the Communist Party.

PATSY O'HARA: MILITANT SOCIALIST

below: armed INLA Volunteers prepare to fire the final salute over the coffin of their comrade, Patsy O'Hara



I first met Patsy O'Hara in 1975. He had been arrested, while crossing the border near Derry, by soldiers. In his car was a stick of explosives which Patsy, a former internee and well-known as a republican in Derry, always maintained the army planted. He was remanded to Long Kesh which was then run on the cage system. Like myself, Patsy was a member of the recently formed Irish Republican Socialist Party and we were together in Cage 14.

Patsy came from a republican family in Derry. In 1971, when he was fourteen years old he was shot by British soldiers and spent several weeks hobbling about on crutches. His elder brother, Sean Seamus, was interned in the same year and, according to his family, from that time on life was never the same, there was always either one of them in prison or on the run.

I was struck by the fact that Patsy and I had been greatly influenced by the same two events. The first was the Civil Rights demonstration in Derry, in October 5th 1968 when Civil Rights marchers were beaten up by the police and then dispersed by water cannon. The same age as myself, Patsy was barely a teenager in 1968 but he saw at first hand the assault by the RUC on the marchers and it left a lasting impression.

The second event was the fire in Long Kesh in 1974. In October the prisoners set fire to the wooden huts of the camp and the next day we battled with the army who

saturated the camp with CS and CR gas and fired rubber bullets indiscriminately. Alsatian dogs were set on us even after we had surrendered. We were then beaten by soldiers and screws, forced to hold half-squats for hours on end and spreadeagled against the wire. For the next ten weeks or so we lived without proper shelter and with only a very inadequate diet - for the first fortnight it consisted of dry white bread and milk. Imprisoned in separate cages at the time, I didn't know Patsy but it left an indelible mark on him, as it did on me. He described it thus:

"We were given two blankets and mattresses and put into one of the cages. For the next two months we were on a starvation diet, no facilities of any kind and most of the men lying out in the open elements."

I remember Patsy as a militant socialist, someone who was deeply committed to establishing a free society in Ireland. He cared nothing for the theocracy of the Irish Republic, but was dedicated to a classless and secular Ireland.

Patsy was not untypical, by no means unique in Northern Ireland. His short life was characterised by poverty, harassment and deprivation but throughout he remained determined and strong. This was his strength and it is the strength of those fighting in the north.

Ronan Bennett.

SAVE LITTLE A

When anarchists are arrested we rightly see this as an attack upon the movement. Defence groups have repeatedly demonstrated the worth of solidarity (Stoke Newington Eight, Murrys, Persons Unknown, etc.). Now we are threatened with the imminent loss of not comrades but of PRINTING FACILITIES. Unless our printers at Little @ can find £10,000 in a hurry their press will be forced to fold and the movement will lose what has been the mainstay of its propaganda efforts over the past ten years. The anarchist movement in England badly needs Little @ to continue. A defence group is being formed to stop the movement being silenced in this way.

What would be your reaction if the POLICE seized or closed down an anarchist press?

What is your reaction now that lack of MONEY is about to close down an anarchist press?

Your reaction SHOULD be to try to stop this happening by supporting the campaign to save Little @. In the long term the press needs a constant flow of (paying) work if it is to continue. If you have something to print take it to Little@ NOT a commercial printer. In the meantime, send money, ideas for raising money, or offers of help to the Little @ Defence Group NOW, before it is too late.

Little @ Defence Group,
c/o Little @,
C1 Metropolitan Wharf,
Wapping Wall,
London, E1.



● Britain's militarist policy - shown here by the RUC in Bellaghy during Francis Hughes' funeral - is being increasingly actively opposed by the nationalist community

- from previous page.

PERHAPS NOTHING MORE VIVIDLY DESCRIBES THE ROLE OF THE ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY AS A PARAMILITARY SHOCK FORCE THAN A PHOTOGRAPH LIKE THIS. THE RUC WAS ALWAYS ARMED, EVEN BEFORE THE CURRENT "TROUBLES". ALWAYS THE ARMS AVAILABLE WERE THE MOST MODERN, THE MOST LETHAL, AROUND. NOT CONTENT WITH STERLING SUB-MACHINE GUNS AND WALTHER AUTOMATIC PISTOLS, THE RUC DEMANDED WEAPONS OF A MORE HEAVY CALIBRE. THEY WERE THEN ISSUED WITH MAGNUM PISTOLS, A GUN THAT MOST US POLICE FORCES CONSIDER TOO POWERFUL TO USE.

SOME OF THOSE WEAPONS HAVE BEEN USED BY RUC MEN TO MURDER UNARMED CATHOLICS IN SECTARIAN ASSASSINATIONS. SEVERAL ARE SERVING LIFE SENTENCES FOR THEIR PARTS IN SUCH ATTACKS. MORE RECENTLY ONE RUC MAN WHO SHOT AND KILLED A TEENAGE CATHOLIC IN THE REPUBLICAN SHORT STRAND AREA OF BELFAST WAS ACQUITTED OF THE BOY'S MURDER, EVEN THOUGH HE WAS SHOT IN THE BACK. THE BOY'S CRIME WAS TO HAVE DAUBED A SLOGAN ON A WALL.

Q. What were the contents of 'Perspektiv' [the pamphlet] like?

A. A great variety of articles, excerpts from books, some poems. No 2 contained an analysis of the current situation in the USSR and drew a few conclusions, for instance, that the most urgent need was for a revolution.

Q. Did the suggested conference ever materialise?

A. No. On 12th August, the militia arrived and broke up the apartment. After that the commune was no more.

Q. And what of the members?

A. Skobov was arrested in October 78 and sentenced to indefinite detention in a psychiatric hospital. Tsurkov was picked up and sentenced to 5 years in a concentration camp; plus 3 years of internal exile. Khavine was given 6 years. Reznikov and Fedorova have been banished to Altai and Victor Pavlenkov and myself were forced to leave.